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OUR WAR WITH GERMANY

XIX

(September 1—October 7)

SUSTAINED, victorious battle marked every day of the eighteenth month of our war with Germany, and the possibility of peace, the natural result of victorious battle, signalized its close. A double offensive continued throughout the month. One was in arms, by the Allies under Marshal Foch. The other was in diplomacy, under the nominal leadership of Austrian statesmen, with their German colleagues in reserve.

Without interruption or cessation Marshal Foch's gigantic offensive was everywhere successful, until, at the close of the month, Bulgaria, overwhelmingly defeated, her armies scattered and her power of resistance destroyed, made unconditional surrender and went out of the war. At the same time Gen. Allenby, from Palestine, reported the destruction and capture of three Turkish armies and the termination of Turkish power there. And every day the whole Western front from the North Sea to Switzerland was aflame, and each night and morning brought fresh reports of advances and captures of towns and men and guns from the Germans.

The September "peace offensive" under the direction of Baron Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, began early in the month with vague and unofficial statements to newspaper men, and continued on the 14th with an official invitation to the Allies to send delegates to an unbinding but secret conference for an exchange of terms. That having been refused, the "offensive" culminated on October 5 in a note proposing "by presentation to President Wilson to conclude immediately with him and his Allies a general armistice on land, on sea and in the air, and start, without delay, negotiations for peace. These negotiations will be based upon the fourteen points in President Wilson's message of January 8th, and the four points of his speech of February 12, 1918 (Feb. 11), and those equally of September 27, 1918."

This last was a reference to the speech with which Mr. Wilson opened the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign, in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, when he declared with great emphasis for the creation of a League of Nations which would guarantee the peace with Germany which that nation's word was not good enough to guarantee.

The next day brought to the newspapers the text of a note from Prince Maximilian of Baden, the new German Chancellor, requesting President Wilson "to take in hand the restoration of peace, acquaint all the belligerent States of this request, and invite them to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations." The Germans, as did the Austrians, accepted the President's programme "as a basis for peace negotiations."

At this writing there is no authoritative indication of what action this government will take on this new phase of the peace offensive. The official delivery of the requests has not yet occurred, and in any event the reply will be delayed until that formality is over.

The appearance of Prince Maximilian as German Chancellor in this attempt to secure peace followed a series of events obviously designed and carried out, with characteristically laborious German ostentation, to create the impression in the Allied world that there had been a liberalization of the German government, and that it had reformed itself, so that the obloquy of Kaiserism, Prussianism and militarism would no longer attach to it. With the development, under Allied pressure, of a new German "*drang nach osten*" on the Western front, those familiar phrases about "our good German right" and the "strong German peace" and the mighty "German sword" which were the daily accompaniment of the German spring offensive, were laid carefully away, and a new set, dressed in the clothing of "defensive warfare" were brought out. The Kaiser himself set the new fashion. In a message to the city of Dresden, on September 5, he gave the cue for the new line of talk with an unction that had not marked his speech for some months.

By curious coincidence Count von Hertling, the Chancellor, appeared that same day before the Constitution Committee of the Prussian Upper House to urge belated fulfillment of the Kaiser's more-than-a-year-old pledge for franchise reform. It was a solemn warning that the aged Chancellor delivered in that stronghold of Prussianism.

"My honest conviction," he said, "is that with this serious question the protection and preservation of the crown and the dynasty are at stake."

There was little resemblance in that ominous language to the natural effusions of Junkerdom which had resounded in that hall but a short time before. "I fully appreciate," continued Hertling, "the scruples regarding the introduction of general equal suffrage, but at the present time these scruples must give way to greater tasks, namely, the protection of the most precious treasures of our political life—the dynasty and the crown."

Also on that day reports came from Amsterdam of a violent conflict at Great Headquarters between the Crown Princes of Germany and Bavaria on one side and Field Marshal Hindenburg and General Ludendorff on the other. This was a neat device to relieve the Crown Princes of responsibility for the failures in arms on the Western front. The report was that they had opposed the July offensive, but that it had been ordered over their protests on the insistence of Hindenburg and Ludendorff. Whereupon both left the front, the German prince going to Berlin and the Bavarian to Munich. And in Berlin the

German Crown Prince talked "defensive warfare" and declared that Germany did not wish to beat her enemies, but only to win the right to live herself. Also he supported the proposition which caused the fall of von Kuehlmann, that peace through military decision alone was not possible.

These events were followed by a remarkable speech from the Kaiser, delivered to the workmen and workwomen at the Krupp works at Essen, whom he addressed as "my dear friends." He couldn't resist a little of the old-time talk, for he told them that inspection of those works had always filled him "with the greatest admiration for German science and inventive energy." He told them, too, that he knew and understood the cares, sacrifices, hardships and losses they had endured, and which had "spared neither princely house nor modest workman's home." Then he added that what paternal suggestion could do to diminish the burden had been done, and said:

"Every one of you, in the remotest corner of the Fatherland, knows that I have left no stone unturned to shorten the war as far as possible for you and your people."

The next development was a singular one, for which no adequate preliminary had appeared. On September 21 reports by way of Amsterdam declared that a governmental crisis was approaching in Germany and that a majority of the Reichstag parties were firmly resolved to form a parliamentary government without delay, and independent of main headquarters. The Socialists were said to be ready to join the movement on condition of the abolition of certain paragraphs of the Constitution, the entry of two or three Social Democrats into the government, and the occupation of one important political post, presumably the Ministry of the Interior, by a Socialist.

Washington and other Entente capitals were skeptical of the genuineness of this move and inclined to regard it as an attempt to camouflage the real situation by an appearance of change which left the real power in the same old hands. Winston Churchill, the British Minister of Munitions, described it as "a government not of repentance, but of manœuvre."

On September 27 the resignation of Chancellor von Hertling, Foreign Secretary von Hintze and General Stein, the Prussian War Minister, was announced. This gave the Kaiser opportunity for a spectacular move. In accepting von Hertling's resignation he said:

"I desire that the German people shall co-operate more effectively than hitherto in deciding the fate of the fatherland. It is therefore my will that the men who have been borne up by the people's trust shall, in a wide extent, co-operate in the rights and duties of government."

Thus the stage was set for the appearance of the reformed government which should represent and speak for the German people, and thus fulfill one of the conditions of peace on which President Wilson had been most insistent. The reported practically complete failure of the ninth German war loan, no doubt, helped to point the way to this reform, but neither the Kaiser nor any other German official thought to mention that.

September 30 brought word that a meeting of the three majority parties of the Reichstag had been held, at which it had been agreed to

form a parliamentary government with a responsible ministry. Article IX of the Constitution is to be abolished. It forbids a member of the Bundesrath to be also a member of the Reichstag, and in this reformed and liberalized and democratized new German government, members of the responsible ministry will be chosen from the Bundesrath, which is composed of delegates from the different German states and provinces, carefully hand-picked by their rulers.

Following the announcement of this great reform came the news of the selection of Prince Maximilian of Baden, described as a "regular human being," a most unusual qualification for a German, to be Chancellor in place of von Hertling. One of his first official acts was to send the note to President Wilson. At the same time he made a speech to the Reichstag in which he explained his programme. It included the "complete rehabilitation of Belgium, particularly of its independence and territorial integrity," with an effort to reach an understanding as to indemnity; representative bodies for the Baltic provinces of Russia, and the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest treaties not to be a hindrance to a general peace. He modestly confessed responsibility for the formation of the new government, and expressed the view that despite the ease with which Constitutional obstacles had been overcome, the new procedure was not ephemeral. The method of amending the national Constitution by a secret conference of the leaders of the majority parties is one that might appeal to a democracy of the Bolshevist type, but it is not likely to be accepted in this country as insuring the establishment of genuine popular government.

The military offensive of the Allies found our line on the Western front, at the opening of the month, roughly about half way back from the "Farthest West" of the German spring offensive, to the Hindenburg line from which the enemy started on March 21. The month closes with the Allied troops in full possession of the Hindenburg line and more, with St. Quentin, Cambrai and Lens in our possession; with a substantial advance northward in Champagne, between Rheims and Verdun; with Bulgaria disastrously beaten and out of the war through unconditional surrender; and with the Turks overwhelmingly defeated in Palestine, two of their armies wholly wiped out by capture and dispersal, and a third practically destroyed.

These events and their effects seem to have been clearly foreseen by the Teutonic statesmen. On September 10 Amsterdam reported Baron Burian as advocating, in an address to visiting German newspaper men, an exchange of views between the Central Powers and the Entente, which need not take the form of peace negotiations, but might pave the way for such a result.

On the 14th, also by way of Amsterdam, came the news that Baron Burian had sent a formal invitation to all the belligerent nations to enter a secret, unbinding conference, at some neutral place, with a view to bringing about peace. Next day the official text of the note was received in news dispatches, accompanied by an explanatory statement which, after referring to the futile peace offer of the Central Powers in 1916, expressed the view that "the desire to reach an understanding and not to decide the war exclusively by force of arms is gradually beginning to penetrate the Allied States," and that "it is our duty to tread the toilsome and wearisome path of negotiation."

The formal note, referring to the peace discussion that has continued, by occasional utterance of Allied statesmen, ever since the Teutonic offer of December, 1916, declared that "a certain agreement upon the relative general basic principles of a world peace manifests itself. It then made the statement that "the Central Powers leave it in no doubt that they are only waging a war of defense for the integrity and security of their territories." A "rapprochement of conceptions" regarding "the lines upon which the basis of peace shall be concluded" has developed, and President Wilson, especially in his speeches of February 12 (February 11) and July 4, has "formulated principles which have not encountered contradiction on the part of his Allies, and the far-reaching application of which is likely to meet with no objection on the part of the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance."

Baron Burian declared that no unprejudiced observer could doubt that the desire for a peace by understanding had grown enormously in all the belligerent states, without exception, and that continuance of the bloody struggle would only lay Europe in ruins without guaranteeing peace by decision of arms. He argued that the publicity of the discussions which have taken place "robbed them of the possibility of fruitful progress" and that such procedure "causes the responsible statesmen to strike a higher tone and stubbornly to adhere to extreme standpoints." Consequently he proposed a confidential and unbinding conference which need not interrupt military operations.

That same day London reported Germany as making an offer to Belgium, proposing that Belgium remain neutral for the remainder of the war; that thereafter the entire economic and political independence of Belgium be reconstituted with the pre-war commercial treaties between Germany and Belgium indefinitely reinstated; that Belgium use her good offices to secure the restoration of the German colonies and do not penalize the Flemish minority who aided the German invaders. There was no word of admission of Germany's wrongs to Belgium or of reparation for them. Plucky Belgium scouted the offer.

The Austro-Hungarian proposal met with immediate and flat rejection in this country and among our Allies. The official text was delivered to Mr. Lansing at the State Department in Washington, by Mr. Eken-gren, the Swedish Minister, at 6:20 P. M. on September 16. President Wilson had prepared his reply on the newspaper text, that had been available all day. As soon as the official note had been compared with the newspaper text and no discrepancies revealed, the President's reply was made public. That was at 6:45, less than half an hour after the invitation was formally received.

Mr. Wilson's answer was the definite and emphatic refusal for which the whole country was prepared. "The Government of the United States," it said, "feels that there is only one reply which it can make to the suggestion of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government. It has repeatedly, and with entire candor, stated the terms upon which the United States would consider peace, and can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position and purpose so plain."

That same day Mr. Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, said: "I cannot honestly see the slightest hope in these proposals that the

goal we all desire—a peace which shall be more than a truce—can really be attained.” He compared them with the latest German offers, and referred especially to the questions of Germany’s colonies, Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine and the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest treaties to show how oppugnant they were, and how futile it would be to attempt by conversations to reach agreement about them.

M. Clemenceau, the French Premier, said: “We shall fight until the enemy comes to understand that bargaining between crime and right is no longer possible.”

President Wilson’s instant rejection of the Austrian note was acclaimed everywhere in the United States with lively satisfaction. No such solidarity of American opinion had been attained at any previous stage of the war. Only one responsible voice suggested acceptance of the invitation. That was the *New York Times*, which spoke before the President did, and which immediately fell in line after his action.

On September 17 Mr. Lansing sent to the Swedish Minister the formal note declining the Austrian invitation for a conference and the State Department considered the incident closed. But it was prepared for a renewal of the effort. The Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* pointed out that Austria “might attempt a coup by assenting to a restriction of the proposed discussion to the principles laid down by President Wilson as the only possible basis of peace.” The dispatch went on to report that “it was said authoritatively today that such a proposition undoubtedly would be accepted. But this statement was accompanied by a significant reminder of conditions which must be met preliminary to any such discussion. These are that the Central Powers must withdraw completely from all the occupied territory in France, Belgium, Italy and Serbia; must drop the subterfuge of the Brest-Litovsk treaty made with hired agents of Germany, and loosen their hold on the Ukraine and on the oil wells of Serbia and Roumania. All this must be done before America will consent to talk of peace, even upon the basis of the President’s stipulations.”

This dispatch obviously anticipated the situation which has arisen through the receipt of the Teutonic proposals that come just as this is written. They now profess to accept President Wilson’s conditions as the basis for discussion. Some explanation of this apparent surrender may be found in reports of peace demonstrations at Essen, Cologne and other German cities, some of which were riotous, and in accounts of the increasingly serious internal condition of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. And the surrender of Bulgaria was a shattering blow to Teutonic hopes. Also the failure of the German loan and the huge losses of men, guns and material on the Western front are powerful and cogent reasons.

Between his prompt rejection of the first Burian proposal and the offer of the second one, President Wilson delivered, on September 27, the most vigorous and incisive speech he has made on the subject of the termination of the war. It may very well have influenced the subsequent action of the Central Powers. The President began this address by saying that he should endeavor “to make clear once more what the war really means.” Then he went on to say:

“It has positive and well defined purposes which we did not deter-

mine and which we cannot alter. . . . No statesman or assembly created them; no statesman or assembly can alter them. . . . They were perhaps not clear at the outset; they are clear now. . . . Individual statesmen may have started the conflict, but neither they nor their opponents can stop it as they please."

We came into the war, the President said, "when its character had become fully defined. . . . We accepted the issues of the war as facts . . . and we can accept no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. Those issues are these:

"Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

"Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

"Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

"Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations, or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

"Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?"

"No man, no group of men," continued the President, "chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They *are* the issues of it; and they must be settled—by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all, and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.

"We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the Central Empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We cannot 'come to terms' with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we cannot accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

"It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. There should exist no doubt about that. . . ."

Secure and lasting peace, said the President, is to be obtained at the price of impartial justice in every item of the settlement and through the indispensable instrumentality of a League of Nations "formed under covenants that will be efficacious.

"Without such an instrumentality by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws. . . . For Germany will have to redeem her character not by what happens at the peace table, but by what follows."

The League of Nations, Mr. Wilson argued, cannot be formed before the peace conference, because "it would be merely a new alliance confined to the nations associated against a common enemy." Nor could it be formed after the settlement. Because "it is necessary to guarantee the peace, and the peace could not be guaranteed as an after thought."

The reason the peace must be guaranteed, said Mr. Wilson, "is that there will be parties to the peace whose promises have proved untrustworthy, and means must be found in connection with the peace settlement itself to remove that source of insecurity. It would be folly to leave the guarantee to the subsequent voluntary action of the Governments we have seen destroy Russia and deceive Roumania."

Thereupon the President restated the principles upon which peace may be based, as follows:

"First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned;

"Second, no special or separate interest of any single nation or group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all;

"Third, there can be no leagues or alliances of special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations;

"Fourth, and more specifically, there can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the league, and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control;

"Fifth, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world."

Those conditions the Central Powers in their latest proposal for peace, accept "as a basis for negotiation." Also they accept the fourteen conditions laid down by Mr. Wilson in his speech of January 8, last, which were: 1, open diplomacy; 2, freedom of navigation, in peace and in war; 3, removal of international economic barriers; 4, reduction of national armaments; 5, absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, the interests of the populations concerned having equal weight with Governmental claims; 6, evacuation of all Russian territory and such settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will give her unembarrassed opportunity for independent determination of her political development and national policy; 7, Belgium evacuated and restored; 8, Alsace-Lorraine restored to France; 9, Italian frontiers readjusted; 10, the peoples of Austro-Hungary accorded the freest opportunity for autonomous development (since then the Czecho-Slovak nation has been formally recognized by the United States, Great Britain, Italy and France); 11, Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro evacuated; occupied territories to be restored; Serbia to have access to the sea and the political and economic indepen-

dence and territorial integrity of the Balkan States to be guaranteed internationally; 12, Turkey to be assured sovereignty of Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire, but other nationalities now under Turkish rule to have unmolested opportunity for autonomous development; the Dardanelles to be free for all nations under international guarantee; 13, an independent Polish state; 14, an international League for Peace.

On September 28 Bulgaria asked the Allies for a 48-hour armistice with a view to making peace. The United States not having declared war against Bulgaria was not directly concerned in this question. London and Paris submitted conditions which Bulgaria accepted, and on the 30th the armistice was signed, Bulgaria having made an unconditional surrender. She agrees to evacuate all territory she occupies in Greece and Serbia, to demobilize her army immediately and to surrender all transport to the Allies. She will surrender her boats and control of navigation on the Danube and concede to the Allies free passage through Bulgaria for military operations. All arms and munitions to be stored under control of the Allies, who are to have the right to occupy all strategic positions. Questions of territorial rearrangement in the Balkans were purposely omitted. British, French and Italian forces will effect the military occupation of Bulgaria, and Serbian and Greek troops of the occupied portions of Serbia and Greece.

It is not necessary to attempt here to detail the Allied military movements of the month which led to and brought about the "peace offensive" of the Central Powers. One day was very much like another. All were days of hard fighting and brilliant success. On September 3, as the month opened, the British at the Northern end of the Western front, broke through on the Drocourt-Queant line, along the Arras-Cambrai road, took 10,000 prisoners and fourteen villages. Thereafter almost every day brought word of similar success, sometimes by the French, now by the Americans and again by the British. On the 5th Marshal Foch, telegraphing to the Paris municipality in reply to its congratulations said: "The German rush which menaced Paris and Amiens has been broken. We shall continue to pursue the enemy implacably."

At the same time Hindenburg and Ludendorff were trying to inspire their people by cheerful interviews. Hindenburg called attention to the fact that the British had not shaken the resistance of the Turks in Palestine and that "the decisive battle for the Central Powers is taking place on the Western front. We may look serenely to the future." Ludendorff was thankful that the war had been "concentrated on French territory and, in the forms it has assumed, has been spared us in our home territory."

Yet at that time numerous evidences in possession of the Allies, the examination of thousands of prisoners; the wide variation of ages of men in the same units, and the reduced size of companies, all showed that the German army was at last really beginning to decline.

By September 10 the British north of St. Quentin and the French south of it were very close to the Hindenburg line. North of Cambrai the British were across it.

On September 12, the day before Gen. Pershing's birthday, the First American Army, under the personal command of the General, carried out the first independent American operation with triumphant success. It was an assault upon the famous St. Mihiel salient, south-east of Verdun, which had been in existence more than four years. Pershing used the pincers tactics, attacking from both sides of the salient at once. In 36 hours the salient had been wiped out completely, with the capture of 13,300 prisoners and 210 guns, in addition to vast quantities of military material and ammunition. Some French units which assisted Pershing's troops, occupied the village of St. Mihiel. The operation was watched by Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, who had arrived in France just in time to see the First Army's first fight.

Simultaneously with the news of this success came word that Poles in Siberia had organized an army of 100,000 men to coöperate with the Czecho-Slovaks.

The Americans were just beginning to clear out their recovered territory thoroughly when the French, British and Serbian forces in Macedonia struck the Bulgars savagely and with huge success. Every day for a week the Bulgars were driven back, and then their armies were cut in two and their retreat became a disaster. They had lost thousands of prisoners, and many guns, and their power of effective opposition was destroyed. Germans who had been sent belatedly to their aid were beaten also and put to flight. Each day brought additional news of Bulgarian disaster until it culminated in the request for an armistice and then unconditional surrender.

Meantime French, British, Americans and even Belgians were hammering the Germans back all along the Western front. Almost every day brought word of the capture of from 5,000 to 10,000 prisoners and the toll of cannon and machine guns grew to amazing figures. On the day of the Bulgarian collapse Field Marshal Haig took some of the defenses of Cambrai with 6,000 prisoners, and the French gained five miles, recovered a dozen villages and took 10,000 prisoners. Next day the Belgians, in their own territory, on the extreme left of the Allied line struck the Germans with revengeful energy and drove them back three miles, capturing towns, men and guns.

While all this was going on Gen. Allenby, in Palestine, was shaking Turkish resistance. On September 23rd came word that Allenby had wiped out an entire Turkish army, taking 18,000 prisoners in a 60-mile drive, with 120 guns and vast transport. The next day's reports showed that Gen. Allenby had only started. He had two Turkish armies in his trap and captured or utterly destroyed them. Before the end of the month he had taken 79,000 prisoners and 350 guns and had completely crushed Turkish power there.

As this is written Turkey is reported to be seeking a separate peace, following the example of the Bulgars. The French are in St. Quentin and beyond it; the British almost in Cambrai, and the Germans have evacuated Lens, after destroying the coal mines as well as the city, and are preparing to evacuate Lille. Throughout the month, as the Germans have been driven from town after town, they have practiced the most careful and deliberate destruction. They have literally laid waste every place they possibly could destroy, and

there has grown up among the Allies, especially the French, a demand for reprisals that shall hold the perpetrators of such outrages personally responsible, to be tried and punished when the rapidly approaching final victory shall bring them under the power of retributory justice.

As the eighteenth month closes Gen. Allenby reports the capture of Damascus, practically completing his operations in Palestine and effectually destroying the German dreams for the Near East. The Germans are reported to have begun a wide retreat along the northern part of the western front. And Paris announces that since July 18, when Marshal Foch's great offensive began, the Allied forces in France and Belgium have taken 5,518 officers and 248,949 men prisoners with 3,069 cannons and more than 23,000 machine guns, together with vast stores of munitions and other material.

During the month it was announced officially at Washington that airplane construction was approaching quantity production and that approximately 20 de Havillands were reaching the army in France per day.

The House passed on September 23 by unanimous vote the new revenue bill planned to raise more than \$8,000,000,000 per annum. This, at the present writing, is still under consideration in the Senate.

The labor situation having become critical at several points, especially through a strike of munition workers at Bridgeport, where the men refused to accept the award of the War Labor Board, President Wilson wrote them on September 13 that the Government would take over and operate the plants of employers who declined to abide by such decisions and that "striking employes who ignored or temporized with these decisions must return to work or be barred from employment in any war industry in the community in which the strike occurs for a period of one year, and face rejection of any claim for exemption from the draft law based on usefulness in war production." At the same time the President announced the taking over of the Smith & Wesson revolver plant, because of refusal to accept an award of the War Labor Board.

Registration under the amendment to the selective service law extending the draft to all men between the ages of 18 and 45 occurred on September 12th. Throughout the country the registration proceeded quietly and rapidly, and in all about 14,000,000 men from 18 to 21 and from 32 to 45 were enrolled. These, with the more than 10,000,000 between the ages of 21 and 31 registered under prior laws, make a body of about 24,000,000 men from whom the American Army, Navy and Marine Corps are to be recruited.

On September 17th the Acting Secretary of War submitted estimates to Congress calling for additional appropriations of \$7,397,727,612 for the current fiscal year for army purposes; this included \$1,000,000,000 for "contingencies, military information section," \$178,758,000 for air service, \$1,277,854,000 for transportation of the army and its supplies, \$1,985,075,000 for fortification armament, \$477,493,000 for ammunition and \$534,414,000 for ordnance stores, including automatic rifles and armored motor cars. The estimates also include \$500,000,000 for contract authorizations for fortification armament.

The next day General March, Chief of Staff, appeared before the House Committee on Appropriations in support of the new estimates. He said it was proposed to call 2,700,000 men under the new draft and to have an army of 4,800,000 fighting men. There are now in service 3,200,000 men, of whom more than 1,800,000 have been sent overseas. It will be necessary to have 1,600,000 fighting men from the new draft. Provost Marshal General Crowder, in charge of the draft, told the committee that 1,350,000 of the men needed could be found in the 19 to 20 and 32 to 36 classes, and the remaining 1,350,000 could be had without going very deeply into the remaining classes.

On September 21st the Shipping Board made public figures showing that from August 1914 to September 1918 the total Allied and neutral shipping losses, including submarine destruction and marine disasters, were 21,404,913 dead weight tons. The average submarine sinkings for that period were about 445,000 tons per month. This average has been materially cut down during the last six months and the new construction is now somewhat in excess of the monthly losses.

On September 3rd Secretary Lansing announced that the United States Government recognized the Czecho-Slovak National Council as a de facto belligerent Government, clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks. France, Great Britain and Italy had previously given this recognition. The next day General William S. Graves, Commander of the American contingent in Siberia, arrived in Vladivostok with his Staff and 1900 men. At the same time American troops reached Archangel and joined the Allied Expeditionary forces in North-European Russia.

(This record is as of October 7 and is to be continued)